

Message Text

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QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 09153

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, UK, FR, GW, WB, UR, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE: PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS; FURTHER
PROTECTION OF FOUR-POWER RIGHTS

REF: (A) BONN 7005; (B) GENEVA 3349; (C) GENEVA 2201

SUMMARY: FRG STATE SECRETARY GEHLHOF, IN A MAJOR
DEMARCHÉ TO US AND UK AMBASSADORS AND FRENCH CHARGE ON
JUNE 7, URGED RAPID DEVELOPMENT IN BONN GROUP OF AGREED
LANGUAGE AND PROCEDURE FOR STATEMENTS TO BE USED IN
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CSCE ON PEACEFUL CHANGES IN FRONTIERS AND ON FURTHER

PROTECTION OF FOUR-POWER RIGHTS RELATING TO BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE. AGREED LANGUAGE AND PROCEDURE WOULD THEN BE INSERTED INTO NATO GROUP AT GENEVA IN AN EFFORT TO SEEK UNANIMITY IN PRESENTING TO CSCE. GEHLHOF SAID THIS A MATTER OF EXTREMELY HIGH IMPORTANCE TO FRG, ON WHICH BONN WILL MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT. END SUMMARY.

1. NEW FRG FONOFF STATE SECRETARY AND FORMER UN AMBASSADOR GEHLHOF CALLED IN US AND UK AMBASSADORS AND FRENCH CHARGE ON JUNE 7 TO MAKE A MAJOR DEMARCHE ON NEXT STEPS REGARDING TWO ASPECTS OF CSCE NOTED ABOVE. GEHLHOF INDICATED THAT CHANCELLOR AND FONMIN GENSCHER WERE BOTH FULLY INFORMED ON THESE ISSUES AND DEEPLY CONCERNED WITH OUTCOME. GEHLHOF SAID FRG WAS VERY DISTURBED BY SOVIET ATTEMPTS AT GENEVA TO SEPARATE OUT CENTRAL EUROPE FOR SPECIAL ATTENTION ON INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS QUESTION; SOVIET INDICATIONS THAT PRESENT LANGUAGE WOULD NOT RULE OUT MINOR CHANGES WERE ALSO TROUBLESOME. WHAT THIS ADDS UP TO, GEHLHOF SAID, WAS THAT ONLY GERMAN QUESTION WOULD REALLY BE AFFECTED BY THIS PRESENT LANGUAGE AND PROCEDURE. FRG HAS CONSEQUENTLY COME TO THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS:

(A) ANYTHING LESS THAN WHAT WAS ACHIEVED IN FRG/USSR TREATY WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE TO BONN (IN THIS TREATY, INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS WAS "BALANCED" OFF BY PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION AS EXPRESSED IN THE UN CHARTER);

(B) SATISFACTORY LANGUAGE REGARDING PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS MUST BE INCLUDED AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE TEXT OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES;

(C) WESTERN POSITION THAT CSCE DECLARATION A "POLITICAL DOCUMENT" AND NOT LEGALLY BINDING IS SIMPLY NOT SUFFICIENT IN AND OF ITSELF, SINCE "MUTUAL UNDER-TAKING" OF CSCE AND FEELING OF MANY PARTICIPANTS THAT CSCE SETTLES ISSUES ONCE AND FOR ALL COULD HAVE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF SUPPORTING POSSIBLE FUTURE ATTEMPT BY SOVIETS TO REFER TO CSCE AS EXCLUDING SETTLEMENT OF GERMAN
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QUESTION; AND

(D) IN VIEW OF STRONG SOVIET CONTRARY POSITION, BEST HOPE FOR SUCCESS IN OBTAINING DESIRED LANGUAGE AND PROCEDURE IN ABOVE MATTER IS FOR COMMON NATO FRONT IN CSCE.

2. GEHLHOF THEN SAID THAT SECOND ASPECT OF CSCE WHICH HE

HAD EARLIER MENTIONED WOULD SEEM TO HAVE PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE FOR THREE ALLIES. THE PASSAGE ON SOVEREIGNTY COULD BE SEEN, HE SAID, TO IMPINGE ON STATUS OF OCCUPATION OF BERLIN, ON AIR CORRIDORS, ETC. HE SAID THAT FRG INTERESTS WERE ALSO VERY CLOSELY INVOLVED HERE, AND FRG FONOFF EXPERTS HAVE BEEN ASKED TO COMB THROUGH CSCE DOCUMENTS AND TO ISOLATE THOSE PORTIONS WHICH COULD AFFECT BERLIN.

3. SUMMARIZING, GEHLHOF SAID IT A COMMON INTEREST OF FRG AND THREE ALLIES TO OBTAIN SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF PEACEFUL CHANGE OF GORDERS ITEM AND TO PROPERLY PROTECT LEGAL POSITION AND RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF

THREE ALLIES IN BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE. HE THEN PROPOSED A THREE-STAGE PROCESS FOR OBTAINING QUICK NATO COMMON FRONT:

(A) IN BONN GROUP, FRG AND THREE ALLIES WOULD WORK QUICKLY TO REACH AGREED POSITION BOTH REGARDING LANGUAGE AND ON PROCEDURAL ASPECTS OF WHERE AND HOW TO INSERT IN CSCE;

(B) AGREED POSITION WOULD THEN BE PRESENTED TO NATO GROUP AT GENEVA FOR APPROVAL; AND

(C) COMMON FRONT POSITION WOULD THEN BE PRESENTED TO CSCE.

GEHLHOF SAID BONN GROUP WAS PROPER PLACE TO START SINCE EXPERTISE EXISTED THERE ON ALL ASPECTS OF PROBLEM, AND HE URGED A QUICK START ON THIS MATTER OF VERY GREAT IMPORTANCE TO FRG.

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4. IN DISCUSSION WHICH FOLLOWED, AMBASSADORS REQUESTED CLARIFICATION OF PROPOSED TIME FRAME. GEHLHOF SAID PROPOSALS WOULD BEST BE MADE IN STAGE TWO, JUST BEFORE SECOND READING OF DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, WHICH MEANT SOMETIME DURING FIRST PART OF JULY.

5. COMMENT: DEMARCHE WAS MADE WITH APPROVAL OF HIGHEST LEVEL FRG GOVERNMENT ON ISSUE OF OBVIOUS GREAT IMPORTANCE TO BONN. CONNECTING TWO ITEMS OF PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS (IN WHICH FRG HAS GREATEST INTEREST) AND PROTECTING FOUR-POWER RIGHTS (IN WHICH THREE ALLIES HAVE MOST AT STAKE) SEEMS TO BE FRG ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE THREE POWERS THAT THEY HAVE DEEP INTEREST IN FORMER ITEM AS WELL. AS REPORTED EARLIER (REFTEL A) FRENCH,

INDEED, AND ALSO THE BRITISH HAVE ALREADY EXPRESSED
HOPES TO TAKE FURTHER ACTION TO PROTECT FOUR-POWER
RIGHTS, AND FRENCH EMBASSY COUNSELLOR LUSTIG SAID
DURING GEHLHOF MEETING THAT PERHAPS FRG AND THREE
ALLIES SHOULD TRY TO GET APPROPRIATE DOCUMENT SIGNED
"BY THE SIX" (QUADRIpartite PLUS FRG AND GDR). MATTER
WILL NEXT BE TAKEN UP NEXT WEEK IN BONN GROUP WHEN FRG
WILL INITIATE DISCUSSION OF CONCRETE PROPOSALS.
HILLENBRAND UNQUOTE SISCO

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